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preach peace. We have not reached ideal perfection yet, far from it; but the way to judge of conditions in this world is not by comparing them with the standard of ideal perfection; it is by comparing the conditions to-day with the conditions of the past, and noting, not what we can do to-day. If we note that alone, we must be discouraged; if we note that alone, we must be convinced of the desperate selfishness, the injustice, the cruelty of mankind; but if we compare the conditions of to-day with the conditions of yesterday, and the last decade, and the last generation, and the last century, and centuries before, no one can fail to see that in all those qualities of the human heart which make the difference between cruel and brutal war and kindly peace, the civilized world is steadily and surely advancing day by day. [Applause.] No one can fail to see that the continuous and unswerving tendency of human development is towards peace and the love of mankind.

My friends, if all men could feel towards each other as I feel towards you to-night, the Peace Society might well disband. [Prolonged applause.]

The Influence of Peace Power upon History.

BY DR. WILLIAM I. HULL, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN SWARTHMORE COLLEGE.

A paper read at the annual meeting of the History Teachers Association of the Middle States and Maryland, held at the University of Pennsylvania March 13, 1909.

Capt. Alfred Thayer Mahan of the United States Navy, and member of the first Peace Conference at The Hague, has written a book which the English-speaking world, in its lighter moments of ease, greatly loves to read. This book is a glorification of the part played in history by the British and American navies, and is entitled "The Influence of Sea Power upon History." I am informed that it has been reprinted twenty times within nineteen years. It is true, as some advertising pages in its back proclaim, that the War and Navy Departments of the United States government purchased one large impression of it for use in the libraries of our army and navy, and that the British government supplied copies of it to the cruising ships of the Royal Navy; but it is also true that the student of history and the general reader, although not entirely agreeing with the British Admiral Tryon's verdict that "it is the best thing ever written," have nevertheless accorded it a splendid market.

Captain Mahan has, accordingly, achieved fame, fortune and high position. So did Prince Metternich; and, like Metternich, Captain Mahan is also a reactionary. It is true that as the servant of a government of the people, by the people and for the people, on the eve of the twentieth century, Captain Mahan has not had the golden opportunity for *political* reaction which was afforded the Austrian minister in the palmy days of the Holy Alliance; but in his day and in his way he has proved worthy of his Old World prototype.

For example: as a delegate of the United States government to the first Peace Conference at The Hague, in the year that his glorification of sea power reached its fifteenth impression, he was permitted to cast the vote of the United States delegation *against* the prohibition of

the use of projectiles, the object of which is the diffusion of asphyxiating or deleterious gases. The American and the British votes were the only negative ones cast against this humane and progressive prohibition, which was adopted by the twenty-four other delegations present. At the second Hague Conference the British government gave in its adhesion to this prohibition, and the Latin American Republics, then represented for the first time, did the same. Thus, thanks to Captain Mahan's action in 1899 and his continued influence in United States naval circles in 1907, our country stands alone among the world's forty-six powers on the reactionary and inhuman side of the question of asphyxiating projectiles.

Again, in the first Hague Conference Captain Mahan joined forces with his army colleague, Capt. William Crozier, to cast the United States' vote *against* the prohibition of the use of "dum-dum" bullets, which had earned the reputation of inflicting jagged and unnecessarily cruel wounds. On this occasion the British and Portuguese delegations were the only others of the twenty-six present which cast negative votes, and of these the British government had the interest of the inventor and proprietor in defending the obnoxious bullets. At the second Conference the British and Portuguese governments yielded to the enlightened public opinion of the civilized world and gave in their adhesion to the prohibition of 1899, and the Latin American Republics did the same; but the United States government still stands by its guns, or bullets, or Captain Mahan. Thus, although "dum-dum" bullets were originally British chestnuts, and although they have been pronounced worm-eaten by the British themselves, our United States government, thanks largely to Captain Mahan's reactionary principles, still insists on pulling them out of the fire. Prince Metternich, intent on plucking the princely power of the old régime from the ashes of the French Revolution's conflagration and opposing it to the rising tide of popular sovereignty, would have had a warm feeling of fellowship with our American Captain's opposition of asphyxiating gases and "dum-dum" bullets to the twentieth century's rising tide of humanity and justice towards every member of the family of nations.

Again, Captain Mahan is one of the chief leaders in that coterie of promoters of a big navy, some of whom insist that this country shall have peace at any price, no matter how many billions we may have to expend on "Dreadnoughts," or how many wars we may have to fight to retain and protect it. But the new-born and singular doctrine of some of these promoters, that enormously and indefinitely increasing armaments is the best way to insure international arbitration, is frankly rejected by Captain Mahan, whose naval commission has recently published as axiomatic the assertion that there should be on check or change of method in expanding from a state of peace to a state of war. For "this is not militarism," the commission argues, "it is a simple business principle based upon the fact that success in war is the only return the people and the nation can get from the investment of many millions in the building and maintenance of a great navy."

Fortunately, this distinguished naval officer of ours was not permitted to lay his frosty hand upon the Permanent Court of Arbitration established in 1899 by such truly American representatives as Andrew D. White and

Frederick W. Holls, and by such progressive international statesmen as Lord Pauncefoot, Count Nigra, Chevalier Descamps and Léon Bourgeois. In such company as this, Captain Mahan must have felt as much at home as Metternich would have done in the midst of a circle composed of Thomas Jefferson, George Canning and John Quincy Adams. On the other hand, he was undoubtedly fitted, as a writer in the *Fortnightly Review* remarked,—a remark which is also quoted in the back of his book on Sea Power,—“by nature as well as by training for the work to which he happily turned his hand.”

This work included, among other things, as I have reminded you, a book on “The Influence of Sea Power upon History.” I need not review that book before this Association of History Teachers, for, in common with thousands of our colleagues, most of us have probably devoted many precious hours in exploiting its pages before our classes. I desired here merely to point out the ruling passion of its author and to indicate its place in historical literature. As Captain Mahan, in his reactionary internationalism, reminds us of Prince Metternich, so in the themes of his book he recalls Sir Walter Scott and Baron Jomini.

As the rise of industry in the cities of mediæval Europe made of the feudal castle a picturesque ruin and obscured the robber baron in a mist of romantic glamor, so the rise of the peace power to supremacy has converted the cavalry squadron into a constable's staff and the warship into a policeman's club. Sir Walter Scott has embalmed in literature, for the amused interest of posterity, the jousts and tournaments of the days of chivalry; and Jomini and Mahan, taking their themes more seriously, to be sure, because their proximity made them loom the larger, have recorded the strategy and tactics, the bulleting and butting and buffeting of guns and bayonets, of rams and rigging. How we are thrilled in the pages of Mahan by “the great smashing effect of carronades,” or “the great penetrative power of long range guns;” how breathlessly we pursue “the tactical uniformity of action” and “the attack by lee or weathergage;” and how we are led to marvel that a certain attempt should have been made to “carry by boarding” instead of to “sink by ramming”!

When the duel and the prize fight shall have found their “gifted historians,” their literature also, the picturesque and romantic account of thrust and parry, of upper cut and solar plexus, will take its place beside the historical novel and the histories of drum and trumpet, of top-sail manœuvre and larboard attack.

Meanwhile, why is it that military and naval histories have come to seem to us so much beside the mark? Captain Mahan, in speaking of massed attacks upon the enemy's fleet under changing conditions of naval warfare, complains that “men's minds are so constituted that they seem more impressed by transiency of the conditions than by the undying principle which coped with them.” Now, Captain Mahan may feel entirely reassured upon this point, in so far as the transiency of warfare and the eternal principle of international peace are concerned. Men's eyes and ears are no longer blinded or deafened by powder smoke or roar of guns; and they have detected, through the tumult and the shouting, the great truth that the strongest power in all this world, and the

power beside which all other means of regulating international relations fades into utter insignificance, is the great combination of forces to which the name of Peace Power may be applied. Captain Mahan dimly realizes this fact and complains that “a peaceful, gain-loving nation is not far-sighted, and far-sightedness is needed for adequate military preparation, especially in these days.”

Our modern eyes have certainly not that kind of far-sightedness, for how naïve and childish now seem cavalry charge or volley of grapeshot on fields whose endless succession of harvests is momentarily disturbed by some “famous victory”; or how we smile at the absorbed earnestness with which naval historians dramatize the dancing hostile fleets towards each other, battering and banging in heroic abandon, coloring the ocean waves with human blood, but all unconscious of the depths of ocean across which ten thousand fleets have swept in vain. And not only does militant man seem a puny pigmy when measured thus by Mother Nature's forces, but how immeasurably insignificant seems the war which he has stirred up as the means of solving international problems when compared with the great forces, human and divine, which make up the power of peace.

To our modern eyes Captain Mahan's kind of “history” has two fatal defects. In the first place, it has given rise to a false and pernicious philosophy of international relations. A certain class of newspaper writers, misled by the spirit of Captain Mahan's “history,” are indulging in such distorted views of international relations as are expressed in the two recently published paragraphs which follow. The *Salt Lake Tribune* fulminates as follows: “The Republic [our Republic, of course], triumphant, magnificent, bearing the olive branch of peace in one hand and the rod of castigation in the other, standing for humanity and justice throughout the world, will be the world's arbiter in time, and largely so from henceforth. And thus justice will be made to prevail throughout the world, and the arbiter of justice will be so strong, both on sea and on land, so unassailable, that to attack him will be hopeless, and peace will prevail because no hope of gain by going to war can possibly be entertained. And that is the kind of peace that must come to the world. A peace through the overwhelming majesty of the American Republic that is so strong as to be completely able to enforce it, and so just as to compel respect in that enforcement.”

Again, a rear admiral of the United States Navy concludes his account of the recent voyage around the globe as follows: “I wish that I might stop with the words peace and goodwill as my closing expression, the lingering savor of which must ever be most sweet to even the sternest warrior. But misunderstandings must be avoided and prevented. We have fellow-countrymen just as conscientious, just as earnest, just as patriotic as any, who doubtless would ask in all sincerity: If all these love feasts be as described, why build more battleships? The answer lies in the teachings of history [Captain Mahan's “history”], in the inexorable logic of past events. It would be futile to attempt here to marshal all the axioms drawn from the world's experience in human nature. From the far-back days of the great Covenanters comes to us the sagest of all advice: ‘Put your trust in Providence — and keep your powder dry.’”

In the second place, Captain Mahan's “history” lacks

perspective and true historical proportion, because it grossly exaggerates the trivial and the transient, and asserts them to be the most important and the eternal. It would put in the place of the discredited drum and trumpet history the equally discreditable siren and wig-wag history. Foot, horse and dragoons having been driven by modern writers from the foreground of history into their relatively unimportant corners, where they properly belong, Captain Mahan would have us substitute in their places frigate, cruiser and torpedo boat. But as teachers of history, we protest against the gifts of any more false gods; and having found the eternal verities and the truly important in history, we will abide with them. And among these last I count first and foremost the Peace Power.

Within the limits of a brief paper this Peace Power can be hardly more than alluded to, or at most its outlines only may be suggested. In this attempt I may be permitted first, since I have adapted the title of Captain Mahan's book, to adapt also a portion of its preface, merely substituting for his term Sea Power the term Peace Power. His preface, then, would read, in part, as follows: "Historians generally have been unfamiliar with the conditions of peace, having as to it neither special interest nor special knowledge; and the profound determining influence of Peace Power upon great issues has consequently been overlooked. The definite object proposed in this work is an examination of the general history of Europe and America with particular reference to the effect of Peace Power upon the course of that history." But I may not follow thus page by page through Captain Mahan's ponderous tome, although it must be confessed that there is not much more of what is in very truth "the general history of Europe and America" in its 541 pages than might be put into a twenty-minutes paper.*

Peace Power is embodied in many things. Christianity, the moral code, literature, the drama, art, commerce, and the vast congeries of forces which make up what is conveniently known as economic internationalism, world's fairs and congresses, an enlightened public opinion, diplomacy, international law and international institutions, are some of the agencies utilized by this master power in human affairs.

Christianity, which has abolished slavery from all civilized lands, made the family "the sacred refuge of our race," tempered the despotism of autocrats, idealized popular governments, universalized education, and exalted the dignity of labor, the worth of the individual, the rights of children and the duty of woman, has been a form of Peace Power which it would take hours to expound and libraries to estimate. The song of "Peace on Earth" which the angels sang when its founder was born has rolled with increasing volume down the ages, and, despite militant theologies and false philosophies of history, has become the great chorus of humanity in which the din of arms has gradually grown less and less.

As to the moral code: "History," says Froude, "is a voice forever sounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong. Opinions alter, manners change,

creeds rise and fall, but the moral law is written upon the tablets of eternity." They are written, also, he might have added, upon the human heart and are reflected more and more in human conduct. The history of man is largely a record of the increasing sway of justice and charity within the family, the tribe, the nation and the world.

Literature, the drama, and art, although they have been perverted at times to exalt the barbarism of warfare, have been in the main the obedient and potent agencies of peace. They have made plain to the way-faring man the great ideals of peace, and enabled him who runs to read the fruitful lesson that even the peoples beyond the mountains and beyond the seas are animated by those ideals and are worthy of justice and love.

Economic internationalism, with its commerce in the luxuries, comforts and many of the necessities of life, with its foreign exchange and foreign loans, its commercial codes and means of intercommunication, has woven ever-strengthening ties that bind the merchants, manufacturers and laborers of all lands together in a community of interests which have made and are ever more making powerfully for peace.

The concourse of the peoples in world's fairs and congresses of manifold variety has taught not merely the arts of life, but has taught as well the duty and the method of an international life based upon peace and justice. From the Congress of Panama in 1826 to the second Hague Conference in 1907 there were held one hundred and nineteen congresses in which various governments of the world were officially represented; and during the same eighty years there were held more than seven hundred unofficial international gatherings.

Public opinion, which Ambassador Bryce has shown to be the supreme power behind our American government, has not only increased in its guiding and motive force within the various nations, but has become an *international* public opinion, and has been immensely strengthened and enlightened by the growing interchange of ideas and principles between the leaders of thought throughout the world. On how many occasions and with what beneficent results Peace Power has exerted a controlling influence upon national and international action by means of this "redoubtable sovereign of public opinion," would be too long to tell. Suffice it to recall here the words of a distinguished Belgian statesman and international jurist, M. Beernaert: "There is no assembly to-day which must not sit with windows opened, listening to the voices from outside;" and to remind you that even France and Germany have bowed to this great international Peace Power and agreed to submit to peaceful adjustment a *casus belli* whose gravity makes the cause of the war of 1870 pale into insignificance.

As to diplomacy: a distinguished American, who has recently become a private citizen, said in a speech on the 22d of February last, when he welcomed the home-coming of our earth-girdling navy: "You, the officers and men of this formidable fighting force, have shown yourselves the best of all possible ambassadors and heralds of peace." Shades of Franklin, the Adamses, Jay, Pinckney, Murray, Gallatin, Webster, Lincoln and all ye illustrious galaxy of ministers plenipotentiary and envoys extraordinary who have adorned the annals of this and other lands with the renowned victories of

* In this connection I have been interested to observe that in Professor Robinson's "History of Western Europe" the first 541 pages contained only about 70 which are devoted to both Sea Power and Land Power, and these pages include all the wars of Europe during fourteen hundred years of its most warlike period.

peaceful diplomacy! Have your achievements been indeed thus forgotten or eclipsed? No, I cannot believe it. For, when the prevalent disease of Dreadnoughtitis shall have been operated out of our body politic, our historical judgments will swing back again from this Mahanesque extreme, and we shall once more realize that statesmanship is still better than a warship in international diplomacy, and that the greatest diplomatic victories of the past—and there are thousands of them—have been those which preserved or restored peace between nations.

The glowing eulogies which jurists and publicists have lavished for centuries upon the common, civil and statute law of civilized lands, apply with peculiar force to international law as an agent of Peace Power. The book which revealed to the world the science of international law was written more than two centuries and a half ago; and yet of that book, which disclosed this form of Peace Power, then only in its infancy, Andrew D. White has said: "Of all books ever written—not claiming divine inspiration—the great work of Grotius on 'War and Peace' has been of most benefit to mankind." For, he adds, "it developed and fructified human thought; it warmed into life new and glorious growths of right reason as to international relations; and the progress of reason in theory, and of mercy in practice (promoted by it), has been constant on both sides of the Atlantic." If such words as these may be truly uttered of the dawn of international law by a careful scholar, what can be adequately said of this potent agency of Peace Power as it has climbed to its noon-day splendor?

The number and variety of international institutions which already exist are a source of wonderment even to the close student of international affairs. The International Bureau on the Slave Trade, in Brussels; the International Bureau of Weights and Measures, in Berlin; the International Commission on Freedom of Trade through the Suez Canal, in Paris; the International Bureau of the Red Cross Movement, or of the Geneva Convention, in Geneva; the International Institute of Agriculture, which has recently held its first session in Rome; the International Association of Chambers of Commerce, which met last in Milan; the various international bureaus located at Berne, including those for the Protection of Industrial, Literary, and Artistic Property, Railway Transportation, Protection against Phylloxera (supported by five powers), the Bureau of Telegraphy, with forty branches in as many countries, and the Bureau of the Universal Postal Union, which is used and supported by fifty different postal administrations; the International Health Bureau, in Paris; the Bureau of the twenty-one American republics, in Washington; the International High Court of Central America, which has jurisdiction over differences arising between the five contracting republics, and which has just handed down its first two decisions on the claims of Honduras and Nicaragua against Salvador and Guatemala; International Commissions of Inquiry, one of which prevented a probable war between Great Britain and the United States over the Venezuelan Boundary Question, and another a war between Great Britain and Russia over the incident of the Dogger Bank; arbitral tribunals which have settled more than six hundred international disputes since the foundation of our Union; the Per-

manent Court of Arbitration, at The Hague, which has already settled four important international controversies, and to which the United States and Great Britain and Venezuela, and Germany and France, have just referred sundry knotty problems of long standing; the International Prize Court, adopted by the second Hague Conference; the Court of Arbitral Justice, which is now in process of establishment; the sixteen conventions and six declarations adopted by the two Hague Conferences; and the three score treaties of obligatory arbitration negotiated by the nations since the first Hague Conference, twenty-three of which are the work of a single great Secretary of State, Mr. Elihu Root: such is a partial list of the economic, moral and legal institutions which the family of nations has established for the expression and preservation of the power of international peace and justice.

And such is a faint image of that Peace Power whose controlling influence upon past history it will take another generation of historical writers adequately to record; whose exclusive influence upon the future of international relations has already dawned; and whose faithful, enthusiastic and fruitful study will engage the devoted attention of this and succeeding generations of students and teachers of history.

Permit me, in concluding this prosy paper, to borrow the poetic words of one of England's poets and express in them the thought which has inspired this paper.

"The knights rode up with gifts for the king,
And one was a jeweled sword,
And one was a suit of golden mail,
And one was a golden Word.

"He buckled the shining armor on,
And he girt the sword at his side;
But he flung at his feet the golden Word,
And trampled it in his pride.

"The armor is pierced with many spears,
And the sword is breaking in twain;
But the Word has risen in storm and fire
To vanquish and to reign."

A New World-Power.

The United Will of the Nations.

BY TORILD ARNOLDSON, PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF UTAH.

The international peace plan proposed by Mr. K. P. Arnoldson, the Swedish recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, and Miss Anna B. Eckstein's arbitration petition.

Mr. Root, the United States Secretary of State, in an address made in Washington, May 11, 1908, when the corner-stone was laid of the building for the International Union of the American Republics, is quoted to have said: "There are no international controversies so serious that they cannot be settled peaceably if both parties really desire peaceable settlement, while there are few causes of dispute so trifling that they cannot be made the occasion of war if either party really desires war. The matters in dispute between nations are nothing; the spirit which deals with them is everything."

Granting the truth of these principles, the question is how to put them into practice. Mr. Root's foreign policy has set a good example by the conclusion of numerous arbitration treaties with other nations. But if goodwill